

The University of Alberta

Sikh Women's Stresses Living in
Extended Families

by

PAIGE SAMRA



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

in

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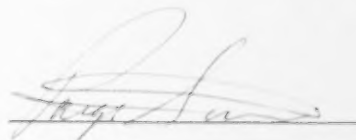
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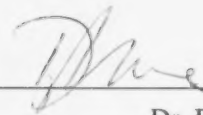
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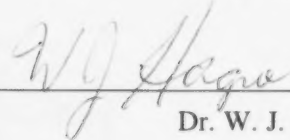
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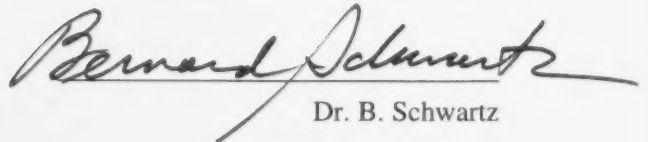
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **SIKH WOMEN'S STRESSES LIVING IN EXTENDED FAMILIES** submitted by **PAIGE SAMRA** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF EDUCATION in COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY**.



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Abstract

The intent of this investigation was to identify what Sikh women found stressful from residing in an extended family in a Canadian context. The study is exploratory and descriptive. A preliminary stress matrix was developed from the literature review of women in various cultures living in extended families. This stress matrix was used to conduct open-ended, in-depth interviews with seven Sikh women. From these interviews a revised stress matrix was developed specifically representing the experiences of Sikh women living in extended families in Victoria, British Columbia and in Edmonton, Alberta.

The results indicated that Sikh women experience similar stressful situations as did women from various cultures. Family dynamics within the Sikh culture play a major role on the type of stress these women report, as a result, autonomy was indicated as an issue much more than Social Life. The stressful experiences of these women did not appear to be the result of a clash between Western and Sikh cultures.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Question and Overview

This study explored women's experience of stress in extended families in the Sikh communities of Victoria, British Columbia and Edmonton, Alberta. Specifically, the study was designed to answer the question: What are the stresses for Sikh women who live in extended families in Victoria and Edmonton? Researchers have defined "extended families" in numerous ways. However, for the purpose of this thesis research, Beck and Beck's (1984) definition of extended family was used: "...presence of family members other than the respondent's spouse and children" (p.278). As the traditional Sikh familial pattern is patrilineal and patriarchal (Chekki, 1988), in the present study the concept of "family members" as used by Beck and Beck were usually relatives of the husband. An example of the type of extended family that was included in this research are as follows: a husband, his wife and their children; the husband's parents (if living), any unmarried siblings of the husband, and any other relatives of the husband who may reside within the household. It should be noted that the study asked the respondents to identify problems they experienced in extended families living arrangements. As a result the study identifies problems which should not be taken in nature to characterize these families as it may in fact be that there are more strengths than problems and/or that these strengths are greater in number or magnitude.

The study was limited to married Sikh women currently living with their husband's extended families. The participants included in this study had one or more mentally and physically healthy children. It was also required that each participant had been living with her husband and his family for at least three years. The selection was also limited to women who were working (full-time or part-time) outside the home. These women were first generation daughters of Sikh immigrant families. For the purpose of this study it was not necessary that participants were born in Canada, but they must have completed high

school in Canada. The rationale for subject selection is discussed in greater length in the methodology section.

This study can best be described as exploratory and descriptive. Through in-depth interviews the researcher explored how Sikh women described what was stressful for them from living in extended families. The study examined each woman's personal experience of stress as defined by them. Using qualitative methods of analysis, the researcher worked inductively to develop themes and explanations.

Importance of the Study

This study is important today for a number of reasons. First, there is a sizable Sikh community in Canada, especially in regions of British Columbia and Toronto (Ames & Inglis, 1973-74). In 1991 Statistics Canada reported that there were approximately 150,000 Sikhs in Canada, the three most populated provinces were Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta. There is a significant number of Sikhs in Canada yet there is a paucity of literature on this specific cultural group. Thus, this qualitative study makes a unique contribution to family research. As this study focused specifically on Sikh families it may aid therapists in the counselling profession. Literature on this cultural group may aid counsellors in understanding Sikh family living arrangements, Sikh values, and which therapeutic techniques to utilize when working with these families.

In recent years, ethnic families have been a focus of concern to family researchers in North America. However, the limited amount of research that has been conducted excludes the exploration of many salient aspects of family and marital life (Ramu, 1988). There is also a need for extensive and intensive study of intra-family relations within ethnic families that live in extended family households (Khatri, 1988). More importantly, cultural diversity and its ramifications for the effects of stressors have not been explicitly examined.

Generally, very little is known about Sikh women. Many questions need to be addressed such as: Sikh women's processes and experience of acculturation and

assimilation, and their experiences of being raised with traditional Indian values in Western cultures. Traditional Indian values place emphasis on interdependence of family members and on a collective lifestyle as opposed to Western cultures that encourage independence and individualism (Morrison, Anderson & Richardson, 1990). Other questions that need to be addressed are: Sikh women's experience of being educated in Canada; experience of having an arranged marriage; experience of racism; views on health; and views on the women's rights movement. Unfortunately, not all these questions could be addressed in the scope of one study.

However, it is the researchers opinion that as a majority of Sikh women residing in Canada live in extended families, research in this particular area will greatly benefit women and families, not only in the Sikh culture but also in other similar ethnic groups. Many ethnic groups such as the Cambodians, Laotians, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese and Iranians have similar extended family living arrangements. These cultures also believe that the family is the main source of identity and the most important social unit (Morrison, Anderson, & Richardson, 1990).

There are not many studies conducted which focus on Sikh women who are the daughters of first generation immigrant families raised with traditional values in a Western society. Therefore, it is important to research the experience of Sikh women who live in extended family living arrangements and who have been raised in Western society. For example, as Morrison, Anderson, and Richardson (1990) reported, most of the decisions regarding family matters (in a Sikh household) are made by the most financially secure male of the household. Women are responsible for household duties which include nurturing. Marriages are arranged, and upon marriage, women are expected to be virgins therefore, they are not allowed to date. "A girl who has dated is considered loose and not a suitable marriage partner" (Morrison, Anderson, & Richardson, 1990, p.152). Sikh mores are in contradiction with many common Western values: the Canadian school system encourages freedom of thought, individuality, and independent decision-making. In

addition, in the West, sex education classes often begin when children are at a relatively young age.

This research may also be of aid to individuals within the counselling profession. Counsellors need to understand and thus be educated on the customs, values, morals and mores of ethnic cultures such as the Sikhs. If counsellors have access to literature focusing on various cultures, they would then be in a better position to provide counselling to ethnic families living in Canada. In regard to this study specifically, counsellors need to be made aware of the living arrangements of Sikh families. "Service providers are often ignorant of cultural norms prescribing the roles of women within their families and communities" (Lovell, Tran, & Ngyuen, 1987, p.317). Service providers may have to deal with a confluence of two cultures when attempting to provide therapeutic services.

The Researcher's Point-of-View

As a first step, I will begin with a statement concerning bias, in the form of a short history of the development of my interests and values as they are related to the subject of this research.

The topic of extended families is one to which I bring much experience. My interests, values and close connection with the research problem are the source of motivation for this study. As a Sikh female, I have resided in both nuclear and extended family living arrangements. When my older brother got married, his wife came to live with us in my parent's household. My brother and his wife now have one child. Thus, currently the household consists of three-generations. I had resided in this type of extended family living for nine years. I continuously observed the dynamics of the relationships that existed within this specific type of living arrangement. Over the years, I identified with my mother and the difficulty she was having giving up her role as the "woman" of the household. My sister-in-law was progressively taking more and more responsibility over "running" the household. I also noticed that it was difficult for my

mother to "detach" herself from her eldest son. I found it amazing that the addition of one new adult to the family could make such significant changes to the existing relationships.

After observing my own family, I believe that an extended family living in one household has both advantages and disadvantages. Financially, the whole family unit may benefit if the working adults all contribute to maintain the daily living expenses of the household. Also I noted that both my parents felt very secure knowing that both their son and daughter-in-law would take care of them in their old age, when my parents would no longer be able to work. Having aging parents live in the same household also appeared to have an advantage in that my brother and his wife never had to worry about who would look after their young son. My parents were very excited about being grandparents and willingly took care of their grandson when the parents had gone to work or needed time to themselves.

I also noted that this type of living arrangement had disadvantages. From speaking to several close friends who were "daughters-in-law," I observed common problems such as: lack of privacy; not feeling independent; where they once answered to their biological parents, they now had a new set of parents to answer to; quality time alone with their spouses; friction with either the mother or father-in-law regarding decisions about issues involving the house, e.g., new furniture, new home, or choosing the colour of a carpet.

From my perspective, great efforts should be taken to preserve the advantages of extended family living arrangements. However, I wondered if Sikh women, educated in Western cultures would "put up" with the disadvantages and stresses of living in extended family households.

If more studies are conducted the challenges of living in an extended family may be brought out into the open. If members of the Sikh community living in extended families are made aware of the stresses that may exist due to their living arrangements, they may make a conscious effort to seek family therapy. Thus, there may be a greater chance of preserving and carrying on the tradition of living in extended households. Research on

extended Sikh families may benefit not only the Sikh community but other Asian ethnic groups as well. Studies such as this one, may bring to their awareness that problems within a family are not something to be ashamed of but something that needs to be addressed. If studies are conducted and the results are presented to these cultural groups, it may make a difference as to whether these families choose to seek professional help. If these families are shown that they are not unique in experiencing "problems" but that there are other families within their cultural group who are experiencing the same difficulties, it may make the transition to seek professional help a little easier.

I start this study, then, with a recognition of a "vested interest" in its outcome - not for the outcome to take one direction or another, but with an energy developed from my own personal experiences. I realize that it is not possible to keep my research purely objective, and untouched by my interests, values, or presence. However, I will be careful to search for, recognize, and state my biases as they shape the study.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

The first East Indian immigrants to Canada arrived in British Columbia around 1905. The early immigrants were predominantly Sikh men who came from the Punjab state in India (Basran, 1993; Morrison, Anderson, & Richardson, 1990). Most of the Sikh men who immigrated to Canada found work in the forest industry. Thus, a majority of the Sikh men settled in cities of Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster, British Columbia. Currently, the largest Sikh populations are in Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria, Duncan, and Nanaimo. There are also sizeable communities in Edmonton, Calgary, and Winnipeg (Ames & Inglis, 1973-74; Morrison, Anderson, & Richardson, 1990).

Family therapy

Halleck (1976) stated that in his experience of working with families in the United States, the uniqueness of family therapy lay in its focus on the clients' environments. The environments in which clients function on a regular basis greatly influence their well-being. Thus, a dysfunctional environment may have a negative impact on a client's well-being. Therefore, as Halleck (1976) stated, the environment may require changing to achieve therapeutic benefit. Changes can be done in two ways: "...by influencing the manner in which family members communicate with one another or reinforce one another; and by influencing the nature of the stress family members impose upon one another" (1976, p.483).

Halleck (1976) reported that family therapists, in general, need to be concerned with stresses which are common to all cultures, and which seem to be part of the process of normal living. He indicated there is no way to analyze family interaction without considering values such as freedom, power, equality and responsibility. According to Halleck (1976) the most important value is power as "...families function most efficiently and happily when there is some parity of power between various members" (Halleck,

1976, p.484). Halleck (1976) also found that if one individual within the family has despotic power over others within the family, it may lead to feelings of oppression by those who are being controlled. However, Halleck's findings appear to be contradictory as this "power" issue may not be viewed commonly by all cultures. An equitable distribution of power may not be the norm in all cultures. For example, it is quite common in the Sikh culture for the eldest male figure in the extended family household to hold most of the power within the family. Even though Halleck indicated there is a need for therapists to be concerned with stresses common to all cultures his own research appears to take an emic (culturally specific) assessment and uses it as if it were etic (universally applicable) in therapeutic practise.

Social support and family stress

Literature reviewed on extended families, in general, focuses mainly on extended family relationships and networks among a variety of groups. As discussed in the following chapters, some of the problems reported in the subsequent studies appear to be similar to those found commonly in Sikh extended families. Yet there is a very limited amount of literature written specifically on Sikh families in Canada. Unfortunately, the literature that is available does not focus on the relationships of extended family members that live within one household.

Teja's study (1976) draws a comparison of types of emotional problems encountered in America and India, and the ways in which they might relate to family patterns in the two cultures. The results indicate that the East-Indian population of which Sikhs are a part, had more cases of functional psychoses, while the American population manifested higher numbers of personality disorders, adjustment reactions, alcoholism and drug addiction. Teja (1976) concluded that because the American culture values individuation, self-reliance and competence, the family and the American society at large are not inclined to nurture or support the inadequacies of its members. Thus, when seeking

psychiatric help, a North American individual usually has little family support and may be left to carry the burden alone. In contrast, the East-Indian culture values and emphasizes mutuality rather than individuation. In India, extended family members outside and inside one common household will usually be physically and mentally supportive throughout a psychiatric patient's process of therapy. Teja (1976) discussed the separation process that occurs in Indian cultures when a family member such as a university student departs for educational purposes. He indicated this may be a time when mutuality and interdependence are no longer available to the individual. This situation can lead to mental distress.

A similar "separation process" occurs with many East-Indian women in the Indian culture when marriage takes place. When a woman marries within the East-Indian culture the bride is sent to live with her new husband and his family. Before the wedding the new husband and his extended family may be essentially strangers to the young bride. In most cases, the bride is expected to sever all ties with her family of origin. It would be very interesting to study this separation process for women and the manner in which it effects women's mental health.

Pilisuk and Parks' (1983) literature review on social support and family stress, very briefly discussed the importance of extended family members. The researchers stated that the immediate extended family remains an important social factor in continuity of supportive relationships. Pilisuk and Parks (1983) failed to specify which cultural groups they were studying but have generalized to including families within the United States as they reported, "the extended family in the United States obviously survives. But how adequate are its supportive functions, given the complexity and stress of modern lifestyles?" (Pilisuk & Parks, 1983, p.140). This is a very important question, but one the authors failed to answer in their research. The most pertinent point Pilisuk and Parks (1983) appeared to make is that the form of three-generation family has continued to thrive in both the Black and Chicano communities.

Taylor and Chatters' (1991) research investigated the correlates of family network

dimensions among a national sample of elderly Black adults in the United States. The researchers studied residential proximity of immediate family and relatives, satisfaction with family life, subjective family closeness, and frequency of interaction with family members. Taylor and Chatters (1991) found that elderly Black adults reported frequent contact with family members, close affective bonds with family, satisfaction with family life, and relatively close residential proximity to immediate and extended family. There was, however, a significant negative relationship between close proximity of immediate family and satisfaction with family life. Not all elderly, Black adults that resided with their adult children were satisfied with family life. Close proximate family arrangements such as multi-generational households and joint household cooperation have been demonstrated to have important objective economic advantages. However, Taylor and Chatters (1991) also found that proximate family arrangements might have negative consequences for subjective assessments of family satisfaction. The negative consequences reported by the elderly Black adults in the study indicated financial strain and problems related to appropriate role allocation such as role overload and the execution of role behaviours such as role diffuseness. The participants referred to such situations as increased demands related to the care of minor children (role overload) and ambiguity in the degree to which grandchildren can be punished or rewarded (role diffuseness). Taylor and Chatters (1991) also indicated that interpersonal difficulties may arise from value and life-style differences. Thus, the presence of immediate family within close proximity could be a liability for overall evaluations of the quality of family life among older Black adults.

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships

Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988) investigated the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships among Black women. The researchers indicated that the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship appears to have the greatest risk for developing difficulty within the in-law structure. This may be due to multiple factors such as marital adjustment;

adjustment problems with biological mother; dependency on biological mother; dependency on mother-in-law; problem-solving strategies used with the mother and mother-in-law; and interpersonal relating style. Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988) indicated the first factor, marital adjustment refers to the relationship between husband and wife, and the effects it may have on the in-law relationship. The second factor, adjustment problems with biological mother referred to a woman's relationship with her biological mother. Jackson and Berg-Cross indicated that a woman may use her relationship with her biological mother to model the development of a relationship with her mother-in-law. The authors (1988) indicated that the third and fourth factors, dependency on mother and mother-in-law refers to dependency on family of origin, especially the mother, which can adversely affect the establishment of good relations with the in-laws, especially the mother-in-law. The fifth and sixth factors, problem-solving strategies used with the biological mother and the mother-in-law, referred to how the women handled conflict; and whether they used the same problem-solving strategies with their biological mothers as they did with their mothers-in-laws. The last factor, interpersonal relating style referred to an individual's style of relating to others. The general relating style of women within Jackson and Berg-Cross' research was expected to have an significant impact on the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship. Findings indicated that frequent phone contacts with the mother-in-law, the more a woman spoke with her mother-in-law by phone, the more positive her relationship with her mother-in-law. A compliant problem-solving strategy with the mother-in-law where the younger woman complied with the older woman's suggestions significantly predicted positive mother-in-law and daughter-in-law adjustment.

Gallin's study (1994) also compared relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law at two points in time in a Taiwanese village. Using ethnographic data, Gallin's study described how women's inter-generational relations in contemporary Taiwan both refuted and supported the notion that Chinese women, who were treated as inferiors in their younger years, usually were obeyed, respected and cared for in their later years.

Gallin (1994) found that some older Taiwanese women enjoyed the prerogatives of the traditional mother-in-law role and others did not. The older Taiwanese women who were not in a position to enjoy the traditional mother-in-law role complained that they felt powerless, that their daughters-in-law did not listen to their orders, did not treat them very well, and that the daughters-in-law looked down on them. Not all older women, however, lived in situations fraught with such conflict and uncertainty.

Gallin (1994) described the Chinese family system as based on filial piety where children are required to show absolute obedience and complete devotion to their parents, which establishes generational subordination. This devotion obligated children to take care of their elderly parents in repayment for their nurturance as children. Thus, when a son married, the marriage brought a new member into the son's family, joined two people to produce children, and established an alliance between families. The arranged marriages were particularly difficult for women as the new bride was expected to sever ties with her biological family and move into the home of her new husband and his family. The task of socializing and integrating the bride into the new household fell to the mother-in-law who "...often disciplined her stringently and treated her harshly" (Gallin 1994, p.129).

Gallin (1994) explained the "tyranny of the mother-in-law" in several ways: The new bride may be seen as a competitor and if she is not "broken," she might deprive a mother of her son's loyalty and support. The mother-in-law may take revenge for her own life-long subjugation, or the new bride is viewed as a rival for the affection of the son.

Relationships between extended family members residing within one household, such as mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law vary significantly from culture to culture. However, the Taiwanese culture appears to be very similar to the East-Indian (including Sikh) culture as both cultures are based on filial piety, arranged marriages, and traditionally both have extended family living arrangements.

The older generations of East-Indian persons are overtly concerned that too exclusive a relationship between husband and wife will disrupt the balance of relationships

within the extended family, and that if such a relationship does develop prematurely, the mother-in-law will never have the proper control and authority over her daughter-in-law, which is required in order to train her in the ways of her new family (Ewing, 1991). Ram and Wong (1994) reported that there are many economic advantages to living in extended households as an extended family may be better able than a nuclear family to support the aged, the ill, the widowed, and the disabled, since the cost is shared by a larger number of economically active members. Other advantages are that resources and expenditures are shared, as are work and responsibilities which reduce the costs of childbearing and childrearing.

Laotian, Vietnamese and Cambodian cultures

The cultures of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia may be similar to that of East-Indians with respect to the patriarchal, extended family system. According to Lovell, Tran and Nguyen's (1987) research on Southeast Asians in the United States, the authors found that women's attempts to adjust to Western norms of nuclear family life and a more egalitarian role for women added to acculturation stress. Such pressures often resulted in depression, anxiety and/or marital problems. However, women were reluctant to seek help because of fear of public shame and the scarcity of resources perceived as trustworthy (Lovell, Tran & Nguyen, 1987). The Southeast Asian women who immigrated to Canada may not have known whether "help agencies" such as social services could be trusted.

Canadian women and stress

A study of Canadian women's mental health found that women indicated stress as the most frequently reported mental health problem. The next most frequently reported mental health problems identified by Canadian women were anxiety and depression (Walters, 1993). Many researchers have viewed sources of stress in terms of major life events; however, Ladewig, McGee and Newell (1990) concluded that stress could be an

accumulation of daily strains characterizing participation in ordinary social life. Stress could also arise from tensions that gradually emerge within a family due to unresolved issues from the past or from ongoing stressors among family members.

Extended families and power relations

Conklin's (1988) research focused on power relations within extended families in India. In India, where the extended family residence is common, power relations within the family are more complex than they are in nuclear family residences as there are many more decision-makers under one roof, and decision-making powers tend to be more diffused than would otherwise be expected (Conklin, 1988).

Conklin's study (1988) attempted to uncover the factors which make either husband or wife more powerful in decision-making. Conklin (1988) found that husbands living in extended family residences had more power as the presence of his extended kin lowered the power of the wife. The wife's power was lowered because a great number of formal social rules prevented husband and wife from becoming the center of the marriage. It was also found that husbands who had white collar jobs were more powerful than were husbands who were manual workers. However, wives who had more resources such as level of education had more power.

Demographic data in Conklin's (1988) study indicated that household structure in India (extended family living arrangements) had not changed in recent years. The majority of households in India consisted primarily of extended family living arrangements as opposed to nuclear families. However, the family role patterns were changing as the opportunities for resources available to women were increasing. Conklin (1988) also stated that there seemed to be less conflict between the generations in extended family households. However, Conklin did not provide statistics as to when there may have been less conflict. He indicated that since the elderly in India usually did not have the advantages of social welfare or pensions, they were more apt to reduce conflict in regard to

power relations and decision-making with the married couple (Conklin, 1988). Conklin's research quotes Chekki who supported this view of the Indian culture as Chekki stated "(The) complex process of change is remarkable in that there appears to be no manifest conflict between the young and the old, who normally stand for change and continuity respectively" (Conklin, 1988, p.200). However, Chekki (1988) reported in his own literature review that Conklin's research contributed to a better understanding of the complexities involved in extended family living arrangements in regard to family power and decision-making but barely scratched the surface of this important dimension of the family.

Research conducted by Ramu, however, contradicted Conklin's findings. Ramu (1988) stated that clearly, there was a gradual change in the family structure of both rural and urban India toward a nuclear pattern. The conjugal pair in the nuclear family enjoyed relative freedom without interference from kin. In regard to power relations between husband and wife, Ramu (1988) found that couples agreed on their expected roles. Even though historically husbands maintained power due to cultural values supporting the super-ordinate position of men, a close observation by Ramu found this to exist only on a formal level. In practice, husbands and wives were moving towards more egalitarian relationships. The overall pattern for decision-making between couples was neither autocratic nor patriarchic. Instead, there was a tendency to be egalitarian in that there was display of mutual consultation. The husband and wife, not the husband's parents or the kinship group, took on the responsibility of managing the household, raising children, and making decisions.

In Ramu's (1988) study, nearly eighty-percent of the East-Indian couples (including Sikhs) preferred not to live with extended family. Most couples indicated that nuclear family living arrangement allowed for greater displays of intimacy between husband and wife. In this study, a greater proportion of women than men tended to view the presence of the husband's family as harmful to the husband-wife relationship, and in most cases, referred to the hostility between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as an

example. The female respondents "contended that in such conflicts, when husbands were forced to take a position, they generally sided with their mothers and this strained conjugal relations" (Ramu, 1988, p.215).

Indo-Canadian families and power relations

Basran's (1993) research looked at Indo-Canadian families and how structural constraints caused contradictions and conflicts for family members as they tried to adapt to the expectations and demands of Canadian society. Basran (1993) researched decision-making within East-Indian (Indo-Canadian) families residing in Canada. Basran (1993) found that compared with Indian families in India, Indo-Canadian families were moving towards more equal participation in the decision-making process. He stated that the power distribution was the result of the families within his study having an upper or middle class background. Basran (1993) also found women in these families were more likely to be working in the Canadian labour market. The author reported that Indo-Canadian women were gaining more equality in the family due to the Canadian perspective on advocating equal rights and opportunities for women.

Sikh adjustment and family changes in British Columbia

Ames and Inglis (1973-74) studied the family changes that resulted from Sikh adjustment to settlement in British Columbia, Canada, and the stresses and conflicts that lay behind those changes. Ames and Inglis (1973-74) reported that the Sikh families interviewed divided their views of family life into three categories; how family life was supposed to be organized in the state of Punjab, India; how they believed "whites" lived in Canada; and how they could best adjust to the Canadian way of life.

The traditional Punjabi, Sikh, family pattern is regarded by British Columbia Sikhs as patrilineal, patrilocal, paternalistic, and extended family ideal (Ames & Inglis, 1973-74). The contemporary Canadian pattern of family life was not viewed negatively but rather in

terms of those features that were portrayed by the Canadian mass media: sexual exploitation, youthful rebellion against parental authority, the tragedy of old age, and the alleged instability of the conjugal relationship. Ames and Inglis (1973-74) stated that in instances where family life among East-Indians in British Columbia had been disrupted, even by stresses inherent in the traditional family structure, this disruption was typically explained by reference to "rebellious" members who have been "corrupted" by Canadian patterns.

Ames and Inglis (1973-74) found that the immediate pattern for B.C. Sikh families interviewed was oriented more towards the traditional rather than the Canadian pattern. The authors also stated that Sikhs frequently argued that their youth, especially the Canadian born, were rebellious. Sikh youths indicated that they found it increasingly difficult to live up to the traditional family ideals.

When focusing specifically on Sikh women, Ames and Inglis (1973-74) found sufficient consensus between men and women regarding the ideals of male-female behaviour. However, they also found

"...that some women express acute distress and unhappiness with their present circumstances, and that not all women actually uphold on all occasions the intentions they ideally express, as in the matters of divorce and separation. Indian women, especially those born in Canada, are finding it increasingly difficult to accept their circumstances, and we would expect that eventually the ideals regarding respect for and responsibility to husbands and fathers will be a major focus for change..." (Ames & Inglis, 1973-73, p.36).

Ames and Inglis (1973-74) found that Sikh women discussed such issues as the difficulties they were having with their teenaged children, their residential isolation from other women of similar ages and interests, and their general exclusion from the social life of their husbands. "In a word, they feel desperately lonely. Women feel ambivalent and frustrated by their role, and they are likely to continue searching for some resolution" (Ames & Inglis, 1973-74, p.46).

Another area of particular concern for B.C. Sikhs, as pointed out by Ames and Inglis (1973-74), involved the change from traditional arranged marriages to voluntary mate selection. The term "voluntary mate selection" referred to Sikh individuals who have chosen to marry one another without "approval" from their parents. B.C. Sikhs indicated that movement towards voluntary mate selection caused disruption between generations. Ames and Inglis (1973-74) reported that Sikhs believe the disintegration of Sikh marriages (arranged and voluntary) is both frequent and undesirable, and can be contributed to "...women no longer accept unquestionably the traditional female role of adjunct to the husband, and therefore refuse to adapt to their husbands as traditionally and ideally they should" (Ames & Inglis, 1973-74, p.44). However, Morrison, Anderson, and Richardson (1990) reported that predominantly marriages among Sikh men and women continue to be arranged.

There is indeed a substantial review of literature about the influence of supportive familial ties in regard to stress in extended and nuclear families; relationships between extended family members specifically mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; women and health; and families in India. There is, however, very little research aimed at understanding what stresses Sikh women currently living in Canada experience from living in an extended family household. Thus, the present study focused on determining the specific stressors Sikh women experienced from living in extended families in Canada.

Summary

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, research on extended families from various cultures, can be summarized as follows:

1. Teja (1976) concluded that the Western culture values individuation, self-reliance, and competence. The East-Indian culture values and emphasizes mutuality rather than individuation.
2. Taylor and Chatters (1991) found that elderly Black adults reported frequent contact

with family members, close affective bonds with family, satisfaction with family life, and relatively close residential proximity to immediate and extended family. There was, however, a significant negative relationship between proximity of immediate family and satisfaction with family life. Not all elderly, Black adults that resided with their adult children were satisfied with family life.

3. Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988) found that the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law appears to have the greatest risk for developing difficulty within the in-law structure.

4. Gallin (1994) studied the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship in a Taiwanese village. Gallin (1994) found that older Taiwanese women complained that they felt powerless; daughters-in-law did not listen to their orders; the elder women were not treated well; and daughters-in-law looked down on them.

5. Conklin's (1988) research focused on power relations between extended family members in India. Conklin (1988) found that husbands living in extended family residences had more power as the presence of his extended kin lowered the power of the wife. The wife's power was lowered because a great number of formal social rules prevented husband and wife from becoming the center of the marriage.

6. Basran's (1993) research looked at the decision-making process of Indo-Canadian families and the manner in which structural constraints caused contradictions and conflicts as these family members tried to adapt to the expectations and demands of Canadian society. Basran found that compared to East-Indian families in India, Indo-Canadian families were moving towards more equal participation in decision-making.

7. Ames and Inglis (1973-74) studied the family changes that resulted from Sikh adjustment to settlement in British Columbia, Canada, and the stresses and conflicts that lay behind those changes. Ames and Inglis found that the immediate pattern for B.C. Sikh families interviewed was oriented more towards the traditional rather than towards the Canadian pattern.

Chapter 3

Methods

Methodology

The purpose of the present study was to determine women's experience of stress from living in extended families in the Sikh culture in Canada. There were two stages in this study. In stage one, based upon the literature reviewed, a preliminary stress matrix was developed. This preliminary stress matrix outlined what women from various cultures found stressful in regard to extended families. This thesis does not define in abstract terms the nature of stress in terms of its physiological manner. However, the preliminary stress matrix does provide an operational definition and a phenomenological definition; the nature of stress as experienced by these women. In stage two, a new revised stress matrix was developed based upon the interviews of the Sikh women in this study. The revised matrix was developed to better represent the types of stress Sikh women experienced living in extended families in Canada. The following section briefly describes the steps taken to conduct this research:

- (1) stage one, development of the preliminary stress matrix based on the literature review;
- (2) stage two, development of the revised stress matrix based upon the interviews;
- (3) level one, open-ended interviews;
- (4) levels two and three, in-depth interviews;

Stage one

In stage one, the preliminary stress matrix was developed based upon a review of the literature. Thus, the preliminary stress matrix represented stresses experienced by women in extended families in various cultures. Each column in the preliminary stress matrix has a column heading representing a general theme or type of stress. For example, the first column heading is titled "Decision-Making," the second column heading is titled

"Autonomy" and so forth (see table 3-1). Within the columns there are cells, each representing a specific manifestation of the general category of stress.

Table 3-1, the "Preliminary Stress Matrix" includes columns and cells based upon the following research. Taylor and Chatters (1991), and Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988) classified the stresses of extended family networks of Black adults into the themes of "Financial" (e.g., contributing more money than participant expected), "Child-Rearing" which includes sub-headings of "Role Overload" (e.g., increased demands related to the care of children), and "Role Behaviours" (e.g., ambiguity in the degree to which grandchildren can be punished or rewarded). "Interpersonal Relating Style" was another theme (e.g., one's general style of relating to others: aggressively, submissively etc.). Gallin's research on Taiwanese mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law was also utilized to include the cell "Feeling Powerless" (e.g., feeling that one has no control over situations).

Ames and Inglis (1973-74), Basran (1993), Conklin (1988), Morrison, Anderson, and Richardson (1990), and Ramu (1988) classified the stresses among Sikh extended families residing in Canada and India into the following themes. "Decision-Making" (e.g., who decides upon purchase of major expenditures such as vehicles, furniture, and routine expenditures such as groceries, clothing etc.), "Autonomy" (e.g., freedom to come and go as one pleases without having to ask for permission from members of the extended family, and attempting to move into a separate household from the husband's parents), "Social Life" (e.g., isolation from other women of similar age and interests, exclusion from social life of husband, choice of friends, and/or recreational activities), "Privacy" (e.g., unable to openly display physical affection for spouse), "Child-Rearing" (e.g., interference from husband's extended family on issues related to family planning in regard to when and how many children to have, method of disciplining children, and general care of children).

Stage two

The purpose of stage two of the research was, through open-ended and in-depth

TABLE 3-1 Preliminary Stress Matrix of Extended Families, Based on Review of the Literature						
Decision-Making	Autonomy	Social Life	Privacy	Financial	Child Rearing	Interpersonal Relating Styles
-Major expenditures: such as house, land, vehicle, furniture e.g., Who decides on the purchase of these major expenditures?	-Freedom: Freedom to come and go as one pleases without having to ask permission e.g., one has to ask for permission when leaving the house.	-Isolation: Isolation from other women of similar age and interests.	-Affection: Unable to openly display physical affection for husband.	-Contribution: Contributing more than one's share e.g., Contributing more money into the extended families pool of money than other extended family members.	-Family planning: e.g., Extended family members feel they along with the husband and wife should decide when and how many children the couple should have.	-Interacting: How one interacts with extended family members e.g., one may have a tendency to speak rudely or is spoken to with disrespect.
-Routine expenditures: such as groceries, clothing e.g., Who is responsible for the daily routine expenditures?	-Feeling powerless: Feeling that one has no control over what happens in the household, one does what one is told e.g., one is expected to change plans and remain home when company is expected.	-Exclusion: Exclusion from social life of husband.			-Role Behaviors: e.g., Discipline of children, how extended family members choose to discipline the children.	
	-Separation: Trying to move into a separate household from the husband's parents.	-Friends: Choice of friends e.g., some members of the household may disapprove of the friends one has.			-Role Overload: e.g., increased demands related to the care of children.	
		-Recreational activities: e.g., one may be ordered not to or discouraged from joining extra-curricular activities such as aerobics.				

interviews, to determine if the preliminary stress matrix developed in stage one was an accurate representation of the stresses experienced by Sikh women living in extended families in Victoria, British Columbia and Edmonton, Alberta. As information was gathered in the interviews, the preliminary stress matrix was revised to better describe the stresses experienced by the Sikh women interviewed.

Interview Process

Level one of the interview process

The purpose of open-ended and in-depth interviews was to develop a matrix of columns and cells to represent the stresses experienced by Sikh women living in extended families in Canada. Each column of the matrix represents a general theme of stress as experienced by Sikh women. For example, if money related matters were mentioned as a source of stress during the interview, then a column heading of "Financial" was developed. Within the columns were cells and each cell represented a category of stress related to the column heading of "Financial." Each cell was illustrated by relevant examples of stressful experiences. For example, under the "Financial" column, one of the cells may contain a statement of "contributing more than one's share: "I am the only one in this household who buys the groceries, but everyone seems to eat them." Each participant was interviewed twice. The length of each interview was unrestricted. Both interviews were held in a place mutually agreed upon by participants and interviewer. Participants for this thesis research were located through Sikh friends of the researcher in Victoria and through the Millwoods Cultural Society in Edmonton. The researcher initially introduced herself in person to Mr. H. S. Bashati, the President of Millwoods Cultural Society in Edmonton. The researcher explained the purpose and nature of the research to Mr. Bashati and asked for the names and phone numbers of members of the Millwoods Cultural Society. The researcher then contacted the participants by telephone, explained how she got their telephone numbers and explained the purpose and nature of the research. Participants were informed that the researcher required a signed written consent from each of them, assuring

them of confidentiality. A copy of the written consent form is in Appendix A. The participants were also informed that interviews would be tape-recorded.

In this study, the researcher established rapport by, first, conducting interviews in a location where the participant felt "safe", secure, relaxed and away from the influence of other extended family members. Ideally, a neutral location, away from the influence of other family members of the participant was chosen. Secondly, over coffee or tea, the researcher commenced the interview by providing a brief description to the participants about herself as a Sikh woman living in an extended family. The researcher indicated to the participants that she was born in India and moved to Canada at the age of three. The researcher also shared her experience of being educated in a Western society and living with parents who advocated traditional Sikh values. She explained to the participants that she was in a masters program and why she was interested in researching Sikh women. The researcher stated that research on extended Sikh families would not only aid families in the Sikh community, but would also help people in general in the Western world to understand extended family households in the Sikh culture.

Each participant was interviewed twice. The first interview was conducted to gather as much information as possible. Information from the first interview was used to organize the data into a matrix. During the second interview each participant was asked whether they had thought of any other experiences of stress from living in an extended family household that they did not mention in the first interview. Thus, the second interview allowed the researcher to ask any questions that may not have been asked or answered fully in the first interview.

The entire interview process involved three levels of inquiry. The first interview, level one, consisted of one, general, open-ended question (see question below). The interview was open-ended and the researcher was careful not to lead the participants. During the interview participants were not prompted to respond until it was absolutely clear that they had finished answering the question. The interview on stressful experiences

opened with the following introduction.

Being a Sikh female, born in India and a daughter of a first generation immigrant family is one of the main reasons I am doing this research. I understand that it can be difficult to be raised in a family that holds traditional Indian values but yet simultaneously interacts on a daily basis within the Western social environment. There is room for confusion and conflict. Getting married in either culture, Western or Indian, can be a stressful time. Marriage for many Sikh women can be a drastic time of change as they move from their parent's household to live with their new husband and his family. As my focus is on extended families, I would like you to share with me some of the problems you have experienced from living with your husband and his family. I realize there may be some personal issues that may be difficult for you to discuss, but I want you to remember that I too am a Sikh woman who may understand what you are going through. So I would like you to share with me some of the problems you have experienced from living with your husband and his family.

After reading the introduction, the researcher asked each participant if the question was understood. After the women started to answer the open-ended question, additional questions were not asked, unless it is for clarification. The researcher did not attempt to influence the participant's answers in any way. As the women answered, the researcher listened intently, nodded occasionally and made simple comments such as "please go on."

The Rationale for Choosing Open-ended and In-depth Interviewing

It was important not to influence the participants' answers in any way. The researcher's focus was to learn about the participant's phenomenological experience of living within extended families. The interviewer carefully avoided differentially attending (head nods, eye contact, verbal responses) to any topic mentioned by the interviewees.

The interviewer tried to provide a situation in which the respondents would feel as comfortable as possible. The research was aimed at obtaining the participant's phenomenological perspective; the participant's personal experience without any external influence from the researcher or family members. The researcher was very conscious of not reinforcing the participant's answers in one particular direction over another. The researcher made a conscious effort of not guiding the interview or the participant's answers in any way. The researcher was very cautious of obtaining the participant's uninfluenced view by being equally positive about everything they said. The whole notion of an open-ended question was to let the participant answer spontaneously, openly, honestly and comfortably without any external influence. It was also important to get the participants to tell the researcher as much as possible about their experiences. The researcher collected as much information as possible from the participant by asking "Can you tell me more?"; "Were there other types of stress you experienced from living with your husband and his extended family?" "You have mentioned problems of finances, domestic duties, child-rearing and privacy. Can you think of any other sources of stress?" "Can you think of any other areas, extended family members or specific occasions in which you have experienced stress?" The researcher did not take notes through-out the interview as it was being audio-taped. This method of data collection allowed the researcher to focus completely on what the participant was saying. The researcher used appropriate body language, for example leaning towards the participant, maintaining eye-contact, occasionally nodding, to ensure that each participant felt that everything she was saying was extremely important.

After the participant had completely finished answering the first, general, open-ended question the researcher ended the first interview. Prior to setting a date and time for the second interview the researcher reiterated to the participant the column headings and cells that the participant had discussed. After briefly summarizing the interview to the participant, the researcher stated "Until the next interview please think about what we discussed today and think of any other stressful situations or events that you may have

experienced that you may have forgotten to mention today."

Level two of the interview process

Before commencing the second interview, the researcher used the data from the first interview to revise the preliminary stress matrix. After completion of the first interview, the researcher confirmed cells and column headings in the matrix by checking off the cells or topics mentioned by the participant that were already in the preliminary stress matrix; and also added columns and cells, as required. The researcher also added cells to the matrix when stresses were identified that were not already in the matrix. For example, in the preliminary matrix "cooking responsibilities" may not have been identified, but it was added when mentioned by one of the participants. Also the stress matrix was modified and examples were added to the cells to reflect the experiences of the participants. For example, under the column heading of "Child-Rearing" an example may be added; "I do not like it when my mother-in-law interferes when I am trying to discipline my child for swearing." During the second interview, prior to moving into phase two of the interview the researcher first asked the interviewees if there were any additional areas of stress that they had thought about following the last interview. Then, the researcher asked questions specifically related to the column headings. For example, "In the first interview you mentioned finances as being a problem. Could you please tell me more about problems related to finances?"

Therefore, the researcher checked-off cells that had been identified during the first interview and made note of cells that were not mentioned as stressful. After it was clear that the participant had fully finished answering the questions related to column headings, the researcher moved on to level three of the interview.

Level three of the interview process

During level three of the interview, participants were asked specific questions

related to the cells under the column headings. If the participant mentioned a stressful issue that was identified within the cells but for which more information was required, this was probed. The researcher also probed for stressors listed in the preliminary matrix that were not mentioned in the first or second interviews. For example, in the preliminary stress matrix under the column heading "Privacy," the cell "Affection" was identified as stressful but it was not mentioned by a participant. The researcher would then ask "Has there ever been a problem with you and your husband openly displaying physical affection for one another?" Another example may be, if a participant mentioned having to give her pay check to her husband, which was under the "Financial" column, the researcher may have asked: "Could you tell more about the problems involved with giving your pay check to your husband?"

Therefore, during the multi-phased interviews the interviewer would check-off cells that had been put into the preliminary matrix based on the literature review, and add new cells or expand the description of stressors in cells in the new revised "stress matrix" as mentioned by the interviewees. The researcher also noted cells in the preliminary stress matrix that were not described as stressful during the first or second interviews. Thus, the information gathered was used to confirm, build on, or enrich the information in the preliminary stress matrix developed in stage one. The aim was to develop a stress matrix to describe as closely as possible the stresses experienced by Sikh women living in extended families in Canada.

Selection of participants

For the purpose of this study, seven participants living in extended families in Victoria, B.C. and Edmonton, AB were selected on a voluntary basis. The following criteria were used to select Sikh women to participate in the study.

(1) The study was limited to married Sikh women living with their husband's extended families. As the focus of this study was on women's experience of the stresses of living in

extended families, it was necessary that they were residing within their husband's extended family household.

(2) The participants included in this study had one or more mentally and physically healthy children. It was thought desirable to make children a common variable among all participants so it would allow each participant to discuss whether children were a source of stress within the households. Only women with mentally and physically healthy children were selected as the study was not designed to assess the stresses arising from having atypical children in the family.

(3) Selection of participants was limited to women who were working (full-time or part-time) outside of the home. It was necessary that all the participants were working outside of the home as women who do not have paid employment may have experienced different types of stress. Women who worked outside of the home were more likely to come in contact with Western values and mores that may have been in conflict with traditional Sikh values in the home.

(4) Women who were first generation daughters of Sikh immigrant families were selected. It was thought that first generation, immigrant Sikh families would be less likely than second or third generation families to have assimilated to the Western way of life. Thus, daughters of these families living in Canada, would most likely have experienced the greatest contrast between traditional Sikh values and mores in their families and those of the broader Western environment in which they live.

(5) Sikh women were selected as participants only if they had been living with their husband and his family for at least three to fifteen years. This requirement was necessary so as to focus on chronic rather than transitional stresses that may have existed within the families. The focus was not on Sikh women who were "newly-weds" and were in the early stages of adjusting to their new husbands and their families.

(6) For the purpose of this study, it was not necessary that the women were born in Canada. However, as an indirect measure of their language competence, they must have

completed high school in Canada. The rationale for delimiting participants to those who had completed a high school education in Canada was to ensure that the participants were fully fluent in verbal expressive and receptive English. Therefore, it was necessary that participants had completed at least grades eight through twelve in Canada. Research has shown that immigrant children must have been functioning in the English language for at least five years before they demonstrate comprehension of concepts required for academic work (Winzer, 1993). Furthermore, having been educated in Canada for at least five years would reflect the influences of being socialized in a Western culture. Socialization in a Western culture would likely result in differences in the values and mores between the parents and their children.

A total of seven Sikh women volunteered to participate in this study. The women ranged in ages from twenty-six to thirty-eight. The number of years the women were married ranged from six to fifteen years. With the exception of two women, all seven women had completed at least grades eight through twelve in Canada. There were two women who had a college education. Five of the women each had two children and two of the women each had one child. Two of the women worked in family run businesses; one of the women had a full-time job; and the remaining four women worked on a part-time basis. The number of extended family members (not including the respondent, her husband and their children) living within the household ranged from one to eight. For example, one woman had just her mother-in-law living with the family. Another woman had her mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law, and the husband's grandfather living within the household. Yet another woman had her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and brother-in-law, his wife and their four children residing within one household.

Chapter 4

Results

The Interview Data

The following data were derived from the information provided by the seven Sikh women interviewed for this thesis research. As a result of the first and second interviews a new revised stress matrix was developed based on the information gathered from the interviews. This information was used to build on and enrich the preliminary stress matrix that was created from the information from the review of literature. The aim was to develop a revised stress matrix to describe as closely as possible the stresses experienced by Sikh women living in extended families in Canada. Thus, the new revised stress matrix (see table 4-1) developed in stage two describes the stressful experiences identified by the seven Sikh women interviewed. However, keep in mind some of the details given in the examples have been changed in order to disguise and protect the respondents. The following procedures were used to develop the revised stress matrix:

- 1). The seven columns and fifteen cells from the preliminary stress matrix derived from the literature review and the three new columns and thirty new cells derived from the interviews were combined to create the revised stress matrix. Thus, table 4-1 consists of ten columns and forty-five cells.
- 2) All the initial column titles and cell titles from the preliminary stress matrix were retained to reflect as closely as possible the stressful experiences identified by the women. However three new column titles and thirty new cell titles were created and added to the preliminary stress matrix in stage one to create the revised stress matrix in stage two. The new columns and cells can be easily identified as they are shaded.
- 3). Examples of stressful experiences reported by the Sikh women in stage two were added to the cells in the preliminary stress matrix to reflect the experiences of the women.
- 4). Each cell clearly indicates the number of women reporting the stressful experience e.g., 3/7 indicates that three out of the seven women interviewed reported stress of the

TABLE 4-1
Stage Two Revised Stress Matrix of Sikh Women

Decision-Making	Autonomy	Social Life	Privacy	Financial
-Major expenditures: 3/7 Who decides upon major expenditures such as the purchase of a home, land, vehicle, furniture? e.g., decisions are made by the husband without wives input.	-Freedom: 6/7 Freedom to come or leave the house as one pleases without having to provide an explanation or ask for permission from extended family members.	-Isolation: 0/7 Isolation from other women of similar ages and interests.	-Affection: 6/7 Unable to openly display physical affection for husband.	-Contribution: 3/7 Contributing more than ones financial share e.g., Contributing more money into the extended families pool of money than do other extended family members.
-Routine expenditures: 1/7 Who decides upon daily routine expenditures such as groceries, bills, clothing? e.g., extended family members make all the decisions without any input from the daughter-in-law.	-Feeling powerless: 3/7 Feeling that one has no control over what happens in the household, one does what one is told. e.g., one is expected to change plans and remain home when company is expected.	-Exclusion: 2/7 Not included in husband's social life.	-Telephone Monitoring: 1/7 Having ones telephone calls closely monitored and later questioned by husband's extended family members.	-Non-contribution: 1/7 Husband's parents do not accept any money from son or daughter-in-law but will on a regular basis make indirect comments about the high cost of living.
-Decisions of Sister-in-Law: 1/7 The actions of the husband's sister are blamed on the husband and his wife.	-Separation: 3/7 Trying to move into a separate household from the husband's extended family members.	-Friends: 1/7 The friends one chooses to associate with are not approved by husband and/or members of his extended family.	-Company: 1/7 Not being able to sit comfortably in a room because of company invited over by member's of husband's extended family.	
	-Personal Accounts: 1/7 Keeping a personal safety deposit box as opposed to a joint box with husband's mother.	-Recreational activities: 0/7 e.g., one may be ordered not to join activities such as aerobics.	-Disagreements: 1/7 Disagreements that occur between family members living within that household are shared with his extended family members not living within the household.	
	-Vacation: 1/7 Not being "allowed" to go on a vacation unless it is first approved by the husband's father.	-Inclusion: 1/7 Having to include members of husband's extended family when planning an outing as opposed to just including the husband and children.	-Sharing Bedroom: 1/7 Sharing ones bedroom with both husband and children has put a strain on ones relationship with husband.	
	-Appearance: 2/7 The way one dresses or keeps her hairstyle is not approved by some of husband's extended family.	-Extended Family Exclusion: 1/7 Not being included on outings planned by husband's extended family.	-Sex Life Probing: 1/7 Mother-in-law questions if and how often one is sexually active with ones husband.	
			-Invasion: 1/7 Personal items kept in the bedroom are rummaged through by the mother-in-law.	

TABLE 4-1 (continued)
Stage Two Revised Stress Matrix of Sikh Women

Child Rearing	Interpersonal Relating Styles	Household Responsibilities	Treatment	Substance Abuse
-Family planning: 2/7 e.g., Extended family members feel they along with the husband and wife should decide when and how many children the couple should have.	-Interacting: 3/7 How one interacts with extended family members e.g., one may have a tendency to speak rudely or is spoken to with disrespect.	-Cleaning Up: 4/7 Not all husband's extended family members help with the household cleaning which results in one person cleaning the entire house and picking up after everyone.	-Feeling Ignored: 3/7 Extended family members ignore the daughter-in-law by not including her in family conversations or just ignore her all together.	-Verbal Abuse: 1/7 When husband's father becomes intoxicated, he verbally abuses other members of his family including the daughter-in-law and her children.
-Role Behaviors: 2/7 Discipline of children; how extended family members choose to discipline the children. e.g., letting the children eat junk food just before dinner.	-Communication: 5/7 Manner in which husband and/or his extended family communicate with daughter-in-law. e.g., demanding, argumentative, give her the silent treatment or choose not to communicate with her at all.	-Too Much Cleaning: 1/7 Some member's of the husband's extended family do so much cleaning all the time in order to make the daughter-in-law appear lazy.	-Gossip: 4/7 Extended family members talk about the daughter-in-law behind her back among themselves or talk about her with other relatives.	-Welfare of Children: 1/7 Daughter-in-law has concerns about the effect her father-in-laws drug abuse will have on her children.
-Role Overload: 2/7 Increased demands related to the care of the children. e.g., extended family members feel they look after the children too often.		-Not Enough Cleaning: 1/7 Members of husband's extended family complain to the husband that his wife does nothing around the house in regard to cooking and cleaning.	-Animosity: 2/7 Animosity and/or tension between daughter-in-law and husband and/or his extended family. Individuals avoid one another or do not speak as a result of built up animosity.	
-Jealousy: 1/7 There are feelings of jealousy displayed by the husband's extended family members based on how much time the children spend with their maternal grandparents.		-Method of Cleaning: 1/7 Members of the husband's extended family complain about the manner in which the daughter-in-law cleans.	-Recognition: 3/7 Daughter-in-law feels she has not been recognized or appreciated for her efforts of doing errands or driving extended family members around.	
-Affection: 1/7 Competitive behaviour displayed by mother-in-law as to who receives the grandchildren's affection. Competitive behaviour is directed towards the daughter-in-law.				

nature described in the cell.

5). Only two cells from the preliminary stress matrix in stage one were not identified as stressful by the women. None of the Sikh women reported stressful experiences related to "Isolation" and "Recreational Activities." In regard to "Isolation" a majority of the participants reported that they had many friends and family that they confided in and socialized with. In regard to "Recreational Activities" a recurring theme for a majority of the participants appeared to be that they had not given "Recreational Activities" much thought as they were busy with their children, work, and household responsibilities, thus it had not been a problem.

Thus, table 4-1 identifies the following columns; "Decision-Making;" "Autonomy;" "Social Life;" "Privacy;" "Financial;" "Child-Rearing;" "Interpersonal Relating Styles;" "Household Responsibilities;" "Treatment;" and "Substance Abuse." Under the "Decision-Making" column there are three cells; "Major Expenditures", "Routine Expenditures", and "Decisions of Sister-in-law." Under the "Autonomy" column there are five cells; "Freedom;" "Feeling Powerless;" "Separation;" "Personal Accounts;" and "Vacation." Under the "Social Life" column there are four cells; "Exclusion;" "Inclusion;" "Friends;" and "Extended Family Exclusion." Under the "Privacy" column there are seven cells; "Affection;" "Telephone Monitoring;" "Company;" "Disagreements;" "Sharing Bedroom;" "Sex Life Probing;" and "Invasion." Under the "Financial" column there are two cells; "Contribution" and "Non-Contribution." Under the "Child-Rearing" column there are nine cells; "Family Planning;" "Role Behaviours;" "Role Overload;" "Jealousy;" "Affection;" "Religion/Culture;" "Social Activities;" "Language;" and "Disrespect." Under the "Interpersonal Relating Styles" column there are two cells, "Interacting" and "Communication." Under the "Household Responsibilities" column there are four cells; "Clean Up;" "Too Much Cleaning;" "Not Enough Cleaning;" and "Method of Cleaning." Under the "Treatment" column there are four cells; "Feeling Ignored;" "Gossip;" "Animosity;" and "Recognition." Under the last column, "Substance Abuse" there are two

cells; "Verbal Abuse" and "Welfare of Children."

The following information and tables discuss in detail the columns and cells in the revised stress matrix.

Stressful experiences related to "Decision-Making."

Table 4-2 describes the number of women interviewed who reported similar stressful experiences for each of the stress cells within the "Decision-Making" column of the preliminary stress matrix. One new "Decision-Making" stressor was reported by one of the women interviewed and therefore, one new cell was added to the matrix. In the "Decision-Making" column three out of the seven women reported having experienced stress in regard to who within the household decided upon Major Expenditures. The recurring theme regarding the decision-making process appeared to be that decisions were never made as a family unit. The decision making process did not include all family members such as the husband, wife and members of the husband's extended family. Decisions were usually made either by the husband and/or his father. One participant who experienced stress with Major Expenditures under the Decision-Making column stated that decisions were continuously made without her consultation or input. This participant stated that both her husband and his brother made all the major decisions that involved a significant amount of money. However, it was her father-in-law who had the final say as to whether or not to make the purchase. Neither she, nor her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law were included in the decision-making process. Another participant who experienced stress related to major expenditures reported that on several occasions she became very "upset" as her husband and/or his mother and father never gave her their opinions when she wanted to make a major purchase. This participant reported that when she asked her husband and/or his mother and father for their opinion or advice, a routine response would be "I don't know." She indicated that she found this type of response to be "very annoying" as it made her feel that her husband and members of his extended family were

not living as a real family should.

The one participant who reported stressful experiences related to both major and routine expenditures stated that she felt she was treated as one of the children when decisions were made within the household. This participant reported that she was never asked to voice her opinions or thoughts in regard to any type of purchase, big or small.

One participant reported stressful experiences related to the new cell "Decisions of Sister-in-Law" in the revised stress matrix. This woman reported that the actions and decisions her husband's sister had made, put a great deal of "strain" and "tension" within the household. This woman stated that ever since her sister-in-law had told her mother and father she was going to marry a "white" fellow, there had been a lot of crying and tension among family members. The sister-in-laws decisions were being blamed on the interviewee and her husband. This woman reported that both her mother-in-law and father-in-law blamed her and her husband for supporting and accommodating her sister-in-laws plans. The interviewee and her husband were told by her in-laws that she and her husband should have talked her sister-in-law out of the marriage. This interviewee stated that it was very difficult for her just to sit back and listen to her mother-in-law and father-in-law not supporting their own daughter. She stated that all she heard everyday and all day was her mother-in-law commenting on how her mother-in-law would never be able to show her face around town; and how her mother-in-law would never be able to hold her head high again.

Stressful experiences related to "Autonomy."

Table 4-3 describes the number of participants who reported similar stressful experiences for each of the stress cells under the "Autonomy" column of the preliminary stress matrix. This table also describes the new stress cells identified by the women that were not included under the "Autonomy" column in the preliminary stress matrix. These four new stress cells were added to the "Revised Stress Matrix."

Table 4-2	
Number of Participants who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Decision-Making"	
Stressful experiences related to "Decision-Making"	n*
Major Expenditures	3/7
Routine Expenditures	1/7
Decisions of Sister-in-Law	1/7
*Numbers of women reporting the stressful experience.	

Six out of seven women reported "Freedom" as a stressful experience and three participants interviewed reported "Feeling Powerless" as a stressful experience. Three out of seven women reported "Separation" as a stressful experience. The recurring theme for the reported stressful experiences related to "Freedom" appeared to be that participants had to explain where they were going, why they were going, and when they would be back when leaving the house. One woman reported that anytime she was preparing to leave the house, her mother-in-law would ask: Where are you going? What do you have to do there? Why are you so dressed up? Another woman reported that if she was late coming home from work, her mother-in-law would give her the "third degree": Why were you late? What took you so long? Did you go somewhere after work? Did you go to the store? One woman stated that "It really gets on my nerves when she (mother-in-law) asks where I'm going. Every time I leave the house I have to explain myself. I feel that as a grown woman and a mother of two, I shouldn't have to explain my every move." All six of these women indicated that they should not have to explain their where-abouts to any member of their husband's extended family. One woman reported that not only did she have to explain where she was going before leaving the house, but her husband had to as well. This woman stated that "...for my mother-in-law it wasn't good enough that we explained

where we were going and what we were going to do, we actually had to ask for her permission. One time we asked her if we (her and her husband) could go out for dinner, she said, No. She expected that we would not be mad about her decision."

Three women reported stressful experiences related to "Feeling Powerless." One woman stated that ever since she has gotten married she has no control over what television programs were watched in the household. This woman reported that there had been numerous occasions where she would turn on a program but her father-in-law would change the program and state "We don't watch that around here." She then had to go to her room to watch the program. This woman also stated that because her father-in-law controlled the television, even her children had to go into her room to watch the programs they wanted. Another woman reported that whenever she used the telephone for an extended period of time, her father-in-law became angry. Her father-in-law would often say to her that he did not want her talking to "other" people on the phone. Another woman reported that she, at times, was expected to do things just because her mother-in-law wanted her to. She found this situation "irritating" and "upsetting." This woman stated that if they, as a family were invited over to someone's house for dinner, she was expected to go. Even though she did not want to go and said No, she ended up going because otherwise her mother-in-law would become angry.

Three women reported stressful experiences related to "Separation: Attempting to move into a separate household from the husband's parents." Two of these women were in the midst of making plans to move from the extended family home when the interviews took place. The recurring theme for the stressful experience of Separation appeared to be that of guilt. All three women reported that on the rare occasions they mentioned the subject of moving out, in every case the mother-in-law became visibly upset. The extreme display of the mother-in-law's emotions of crying lead the participants and their husbands to re-think their plans of moving into a separate household. One woman reported that the first time she and her husband decided upon moving out, the in-laws did not take them

seriously. However, when it became apparent to the mother-in-law and father-in-law that their son and his wife were serious about their plans to move out, they called relatives over to stop them. The participant's husband's extended family, not living within their household, were called over to the house in order to convince them not to move out. This woman reported that this was a very stressful time for her as she felt that her husband's extended family were blaming her for both of them wanting to move out. Another woman reported that until the day she and her husband moved out of the house there were verbal fights daily over the separation process. (At the time of the interviews this participant was once again living with her mother-in-law and father-in-law and had been for the past four years). Every day the participant's husband's extended family within the household would ask for the reasons why they were moving. When they finally moved out, her father-in-law did not speak to her or her husband for three months.

Another woman reported that whenever she and her husband discussed setting up their own household, her mother-in-law always tried to talk them out of it by saying: "The family only looks good if we all live together. What will people say if you two move out."

Three new "Autonomy" related stressful experiences, not included in the preliminary stress matrix, were reported by the women. Namely the stressful experiences were, (a) Personal Accounts; b) Vacations; and (c) Appearance.

One woman reported stressful experiences with her mother-in-law over "Personal Accounts." This woman indicated that her mother-in-law was very upset when she opened her own personal safety deposit box as opposed to opening a joint box with her mother-in-law. This woman reported that her mother-in-law gave her the "cold shoulder" and "silent treatment" for a few days over this incident.

Another woman reported experiencing stress over "Vacations." This woman reported that anytime she and her husband had wanted to go away on vacation, their plans first had to be approved by her father-in-law. If the father-in-law felt they should not be going on a holiday, he would say No, thus their plans for a vacation would be cancelled.

Table 4-3	
Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Autonomy"	
Stressful experiences related to "Autonomy"	n*
Freedom	6/7
Feeling Powerless	3/7
Separation	3/7
Appearance	2/7
Personal Account	1/7
Vacation	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

Two of the women reported stressful experiences related to their style of hair and dress. One of these women stated that on a regular basis her mother-in-law would tell her to change her clothes as she did not "look good." This woman also stated that it was not uncommon to hear her mother-in-law say "...why don't you put your hair in a bun, it just looks awful the way it is...." The second woman who experienced this type of stress reported that as her husband's extended family was religious, out of respect for the elder men in the household, she was expected to cover her head and wear traditional East-Indian clothing. This woman stated that she found it very "unfair" and "frustrating" when her husband's sisters came over to the house with their heads uncovered and wearing skirts.

Stressful experiences related to "Social Life."

Table 4-4 describes the number of women who reported problems related to "Social Life." Two of the women reported having stressful experiences related to "Exclusion": Exclusion from husband's social life. One of the women reported that her husband's social life did not include her. This woman indicated that many times her husband would go out

and come home extremely intoxicated. The second woman who experienced this type of stress stated that she found it very "upsetting" that she and her husband did not have a social life together. This woman reported the following: "I will do things with my friends, but I do nothing with my husband because he does not want to. Not only does he not do anything with me, but we don't even do anything with our kids. I do things with the kids but my husband doesn't get involved."

One of the women reported experiencing stress related to choice of "Friends." This woman stated that both her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law disapproved of and discouraged her from seeing one particular person. This woman reported that when she did see that one particular friend it caused tension within the household. When she would come home from a visit with this friend, she was given the "third degree" by both her mother-in-law and sister-in-law.

None of the Sikh women reported stressful experiences related to "Recreational Activities" or "Isolation."

Two new stressful experiences related to "Social Life" not included under the "Social Life" column in the preliminary stress matrix were reported. The first stressful experience was related to having to include the husband's entire extended family on social outings. The second stressful experience was related to not being included in the husband's extended families social outings. In the first case, the woman reported that her household consisted of twelve family members. When she and her husband planned an outing with just their children, on many occasions she felt "obligated" to invite the other members within the household. This woman reported that at times she felt "slightly disappointed" that she was unable to spend quality time with just her husband and their children. The other woman reported that many times when they as a family were invited to a relatives house for dinner, she would not be informed of the invitation until the last minute. This woman stated that many times she felt she was left in the "dark" as her sister-in-law or mother-in-law would say to her: "Why aren't you ready...we're leaving in ten

minutes to go to your aunt's place." The woman stated that she had no idea they were even invited, as no one had told her of the invitation.

Stressful experiences related to "Privacy."

Table 4-5 describes the number of women who reported stressful experiences under the "Privacy" column of the preliminary stress matrix.

Table 4-4	
<u>Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Social Life"</u>	
Stressful experiences related to "Social Life"	<u>n</u> *
Isolation	0/7
Exclusion	2/7
Friends	1/7
Recreational Activities	0/7
Inclusion of Extended Family	1/7
Exclusion from Extended Family	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

One stressful experience related to "Privacy" in the preliminary stress matrix was reported by six out of the seven women. Each woman stated that they found it stressful not to be able to openly display physical affection for their husbands. All six women indicated that when residing in an extended family living arrangement, there was no privacy. A husband and wife just did not get much private time together. One woman reported the following: "Just once I would like to have a candle-lit dinner prepared for my husband when he comes home from work and the kids are in bed. I doubt this will ever happen because my in-laws never go anywhere." Another woman stated that the only time she spent alone with her husband was in the mornings when they had breakfast in bed.

However, even this time alone could not be enjoyed as her mother-in-law would continuously knock on their door asking: "What is taking you two so long?" "When are you getting up?" "Why can't you two eat breakfast in the kitchen like everyone else?" Another woman reported that she could not even give her husband a hug in front of her in-laws without feeling "ashamed" or "embarrassed."

Among the six new stressful experiences related to "Privacy", the following cells were reported by the women interviewed: "Telephone Monitoring;" "Company;" "Disagreements;" "Sharing Bedroom;" "Sex Life Probing;" and "Invasion of Personal Items." One of the women reported stressful experiences related to three cells; "Telephone Monitoring", "Company" and "Disagreements." This woman reported that her mother-in-law was very "quick" to answer the telephone, even though a majority of the calls were for the daughter-in-law. While on the telephone her mother-in-law would remain very close to the telephone and when she was off the telephone, her mother-in-law would ask her several questions about the calls. Her mother-in-law would ask questions such as: "Who was it?" "What did they want?" "Why did they call?" Another area in which this woman had experienced stress was "Disagreement." This woman reported that every time there was a disagreement within the household her mother-in-law and father-in-law would tell their extended relatives not living within the household of the disagreement. This woman also stated that both her in-laws told their extended relatives that she was always fighting with them and causing problems. She stated that she found their behaviour "embarrassing" and "demeaning." Another situation that caused this woman stress was how she had to behave when her father-in-law had company. This woman reported that whenever her father-in-law had his friends over to the house, they sat in the upstairs living room. She stated that there was a perfectly suitable living room downstairs for her father-in-law and his friends, but he insisted upon sitting upstairs. When the father-in-law sat upstairs with his friends, she had to sit in her bedroom as she felt uncomfortable sitting in the living room with them.

Another woman reported stressful experiences related to "Sex Life Probing" and

"Invasion of Personal Items." This woman reported that her mother-in-law continuously questioned her about her sexual activities with her husband. This woman stated that from the first day she got married, her mother-in-law has made such comments as "I put my ear to the wall last night to hear what you two were doing and I still didn't hear any noise! Why aren't you two doing anything?" Another stressful experience this woman reported was invasion of privacy. This woman reported that she knew her mother-in-law had gone through the drawers in her bedroom as she would always find her clothing "rummaged" through. On one occasion her mother-in-law picked the lock on one drawer and read her diary. It was quite evident that her diary had been read as the lock on her diary was broken.

Table 4-5	
Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Privacy"	
Stressful experiences related to "Privacy"	n*
Affection	6/7
Telephone Monitoring	1/7
Company	1/7
Disagreements	1/7
Sharing Bedroom	1/7
Sex Life Probing	1/7
Invasion of Personal Items	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

One participant reported that she has no privacy with her husband in or outside of the bedroom. This woman reported that in their home all the bedrooms upstairs were used by members of her husband's extended family. Since there were no spare bedrooms upstairs for her children, the children had to sleep in the same room as her and her

husband. This woman stated that there was a spare bedroom downstairs in the basement that could have been used by one of the adults from her husband's extended family. However, when she made this suggestion, her husband stated that he did not want any member of his family sleeping in the basement. This woman stated that she had a very difficult time accepting or understanding her husband's reasoning or the situation.

Stressful experiences related to "Finances."

Table 4-6 describes the number of women interviewed who reported stressful experiences related to "Financial" situations.

The one stressful experience cell of "Contribution": Contributing more than one's share under the "Financial" column was identified by three out of seven women. One woman reported that she and her husband paid for all expenses to maintain the household. Both she and her husband had made an agreement with his mother and father that they had to pay for only two bills. However, this woman stated that she found it very "irritating" when her in-laws phone her at work to pick up a carton of milk as they had run out. This woman indicated that she believed since she and her husband covered a majority of the household costs, her mother-in-law and father-in-law could from time to time pick up required groceries as opposed to phoning her at work. Another woman reported that she and her husband had paid a pre-determined amount of money monthly that was agreed upon by both her and her husband, and his mother and father. This woman stated that the amount they paid was quite fair, but she was continuously "nagged" by her mother-in-law to buy additional things for the house. This woman reported that many times her mother-in-law had said, "Why don't you ever buy things to decorate the house" or "I'm not the only one who eats around here, you could buy groceries because you do eat after all." Another woman reported that financially they were quite comfortable so they therefore did not take any money from her husband's extended family. This woman stated as they paid for all household expenses, she was very "angry" when she discovered that her husband

was paying for his sister's tuition fees. She indicated that her sister-in-laws fees were a significant amount of money. This woman stated that she found it "unfair" that they should pay for her sister-in-laws fees when her sister-in-law did work and also had money saved. This woman reported the following, "I realize my husband and I have to pay for his sisters wedding, as my in-laws do not have very much money. I don't even mind putting on the wedding because it is our obligation. However, my sister-in-law works but seems to spend all her money on clothes and make-up, so why should I care about her tuition if she doesn't. Why should I pay thousands of dollars for her education when she is fully capable of doing it herself."

Table 4-6 also describes the one woman who reported a new stressful experience related to the "Financial" column. This woman reported that she and her husband did not contribute financially to the household as her in-laws had refused to accept money from either of them. This woman stated that not contributing had "taken its toll on her." When her husband was not in the house, her mother-in-law would make in-direct comments about the high cost of living. This woman stated that her mother-in-law's comments were usually about the high cost of food; all the bills she had to pay for; and how much the daughter-in-law's wedding cost. The woman's mother-in-law had made comments such as "I can't believe how much your wedding cost. We really went all out, the reception decorations alone must have cost at least a thousand dollars." This woman stated that after being married for six years, she still had to hear these comments.

Stressful experiences related to "Child-Rearing."

Table 4-7 describes the number of women who reported stressful experiences under the "Child-Rearing" column in the stress matrix.

Six out of seven women reported similar stressful experiences related to the column heading "Child-Rearing" in the preliminary stress matrix. Two women identified stressful experiences related to "Family Planning;" two women identified "Role Behaviours" as

Table 4-6	
Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Finances"	
Stressful experiences related to "Finances"	n*
Contribution	3/7
Non-Contribution	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

stressful; and two women identified "Role Overload" as a stressful experience. The two women who identified "Family Planning" as stressful reported that in both cases the mothers-in-law felt they should have some control over deciding when and how many children the daughters-in-law should have. One woman reported that she and her husband had been discussing whether or not to try for a third child. Her mother-in-law, however, would always intercede in their discussion by making such comments as: "Don't you think two children are enough...I don't think you should have another baby." This woman stated that she found her mother-in-law's comments "aggravating," "depressing," and "none of her business." Another woman reported that the day after she got married, her mother-in-law informed her that she was no longer to use birth control as the mother-in-law would like a grand-child in the very near future.

Two women identified stressful experiences related to "Role Behaviours." "Role Behaviours" refers to the disciplining of children. One woman reported that she found it very "stressful" when members of her husband's extended family contradicted how she disciplined her children. She explained, "I will tell the kids that they can't eat in the living room but the next day I catch them eating in the living room, because grand-ma said it was okay." This woman also stated that she was attempting to teach her children some responsibility for their actions. She stated that if the children cluttered their toys, she expects them to pick them up. However, that is not what happens as she has seen her

sister-in-law walk into a room and pick up all the toys. This action defeated the purpose of what she was attempting to teach her children.

Another woman reported that she was not happy with the way her mother-in-law disciplined the children. This woman reported that her mother-in-law did not do any disciplining as she let the children do whatever they wanted, when they wanted. This woman stated that it was very "frustrating" when she came home from work to find her children eating junk food just before dinner.

Two of the women identified stressful experiences related to "Role Overload." "Role Overload" refers to the increased demands related to the care of children. One of the women stated that on several occasions when she and her mother-in-law had verbal disagreements, some of the things her mother-in-law always "throws in her face" are: "You are so ungrateful all I ever do is look after you're kids; I feel like your slave who looks after your kids twenty-four hours a day." Another woman reported that her mother-in-law looked after her children while she was at work, but it was her sister-in-law that appeared to have a problem with the arrangement. The woman's sister-in-law said to her that it was neither her nor the mother-in-law's responsibility to look after, feed, and bath the children all day and every day. In this case, the woman stated that her father-in-law also appeared to have a problem with the arrangement but would only say something when he was in a "drunken state." The father-in-law would make such comments as "Why do we even bother looking after your kids" or "You always dump your kids off on us."

Six new stressful experiences related to "Child-Rearing" were identified by four of the women interviewed. The new stressful experiences were related to "Jealousy;" "Affection;" "Religion/Culture;" "Social Activities;" "Language;" and "Disrespect." One of the women reported that she felt at times her mother-in-law was jealous over how much time her young baby spent with her maternal grand-parents. This woman reported that at one time, she left her baby with her mother for a few weeks. During that time period, her mother-in-law gave her the "silent treatment" and made such comments as: "The baby

should be here with us, she shouldn't be left in a strange town without her parents. Don't you think people are going to start to wonder why the baby has been away for so long?" This woman reported that her mother-in-law's attitude made her quite "angry" as she felt her mother-in-law was questioning her own mother's care-giving abilities. This woman also experienced problems with her mother-in-law in regard to attempting to win the baby's affection. The woman noticed that several times when both she and her mother-in-law walked into a room simultaneously, the mother-in-law would call out to the baby. It appeared that the mother-in-law would test to see who the baby would go to first, her or her daughter-in-law.

Two of the women identified stressful experiences related to "Religion/Culture." One of the women reported that her husband would not allow their young daughters to cut their hair. It is important to note that in the Sikh culture it is significant within the religion that women and men do not cut their hair. This participant stated that she felt "bad" for her girls as she would like for them to "fit in" at school. She stated that even though both she and her husband had their hair cuts, it appeared that he prevented his girls from doing it as his father is a religious man. This woman indicated that even though her father-in-law had never said anything against her daughters cutting their hair and his own daughter had cut her hair, she could not understand her husband's behaviour. Another woman reported that she was "stressed out" over the type of food that her in-laws expected her children to eat. This woman stated that it appeared that both her mother-in-law and father-in-law wanted the children to eat traditional East-Indian food, but the children wanted to eat Western food. This woman stated that her mother-in-law expected her to force her children to eat East-Indian food whether they liked it or not. One of the women identified "Social Activities" as stressful. This woman reported that she had enrolled her children in several extra-curricular activities such as swimming and skating. She stated that she always had to listen to both her mother-in-law and father-in-law's negative comments about her children being involved in these activities. Both her in-laws would make such comments as: "You are too

wrapped up in your kids. Those kids are always doing this or that. Why can't they sit at home? Those kids spend way too much time with the "white" kids. You better watch out because this is how you lose control of your children." This woman also identified "Language" as stressful. This woman stated that both her mother-in-law and father-in-law were always "yelling" at her children to speak Punjabi, however her children continued to speak English. She stated that the language issue appeared to be a never-ending battle. Another woman identified "Disrespect" as stressful. This woman reported that she was not happy with the way her mother-in-law addressed her children. She stated that her mother-in-law always says "hey you" but in turn expects the children to speak to her with respect.

Table 4-7	
Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Child-Rearing"	
Stressful experiences related to "Child-Rearing"	<u>n</u> *
Family Planning	2/7
Role Behaviour	2/7
Role Overload	2/7
Jealousy	1/7
Affection	1/7
Religion/Culture	2/7
Social Activities	1/7
Language	1/7
Disrespect	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

Stressful experiences related to "Interpersonal Relating Styles."

Table 4-8 describes the number of women who reported stressful experiences under

the "Interpersonal Relating Styles" column in the stress matrix.

Two of the women reported that they did not like the manner in which their mothers-in-law talked to them. One of these women stated that her mother-in-law would tell her what to do as opposed to asking her to do something. This woman stated that her mother-in-law would usually say: "You have to take me to the doctor's tomorrow." The participant stated that she would prefer her mother-in-law to have said: "If you're not busy tomorrow, could you drive me to the doctor's office?" Another woman reported that many times her mother-in-law would "demand" her to do something as opposed to asking her to do it. This woman stated that on several occasions her mother-in-law would say: "Go and make your brother-in-law something to eat." When the daughter-in-law refused to "follow orders" her mother-in-law would tell her father-in-law what had occurred and he in turn would start yelling and arguing with the daughter-in-law. This interviewee also stated that every time her father-in-law got drunk, he would "pick" a fight with her. During these times, her father-in-law would threaten to "kick her out of the house" and/or complain about her children. Another woman reported that she never really told her husband what was on her mind when she had concerns because he did not want to hear them. This woman stated that in the past when she had tried to talk to her husband and explain how she felt, his typical response was "what is the big deal?"

Four of the women reported stressful experiences related to "Communication." One of the women reported that her mother-in-law was a very "moody" person. It was very "stressful" when her mother-in-law was in one of her "miserable, silent" moods. When her mother-in-law was "miserable and silent" towards everyone within the household, a great deal of "tension" developed within the house. This woman stated that before her mother-in-law came home from work, everyone appeared to be in "fine spirits." However, when her mother-in-law got home, everyone became extremely quiet. Two women reported that there was no communication within their household. One interviewee stated that no one within the household talked to one another including her and her

Table 4-8	
<u>Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Interpersonal Relating Styles"</u>	
Stressful experiences related to "Interpersonal Relating Styles"	<u>n</u> *
Interaction	3/7
Communication	4/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experience.	

husband. This woman stated that their home environment was very "depressing." This woman reported that her husband and members of his extended family all appeared to be "...in their own little worlds and looked very unhappy." Another woman reported that she was very "stressed" over the lack of communication between all family members within the household. This woman stated that she was particularly concerned over the lack of communication between her and her husband as they never seemed to talk. This woman stated that she "wished" that family members would talk about whatever was on their minds; when she came home from work the house was "quiet" and "depressing." This participant reported the following:

"My mother-in-law is a very quiet person and does not share feelings. She always looks very miserable. Whenever I come home from work, she is just sitting there looking miserable. I have to wonder if I have done something wrong because she always looks so depressed. I don't know if she's bored, sad, mad or what. I don't know what to say to her to make her feel better."

Another woman reported that when she attempted to talk to her mother-in-law about certain problematic situations, her mother-in-law resorted to name calling. This woman stated there was one particular incident where she told her mother-in-law something her sister-in-law (the participant's husband's brother's wife) had said. The mother-in-law started yelling at her and called her a liar.

Three new column titles were added to the preliminary stress matrix to create a new

revised stress matrix. The three new columns were "Household responsibilities;" "Treatment;" and "Substance Abuse." These columns are discussed below.

Stressful experiences related to "Household Responsibilities."

Table 4-9 describes the number of women who reported stressful experiences for each of the stress cells within the new "Household Responsibilities" column. Six out of seven participants identified stressful experiences related to "Household Responsibilities." Four participants reported stressful experiences related to "Cleaning Up" after members of their husband's extended family. One woman stated that all she requested from her mother-in-law was that she keep one area within the household clean. This woman stated that not only did she work outside of the home, but she felt like she had a full-time job at home, without any help. Her mother-in-law could not even keep clean the one area that she had requested, let alone help her with the rest of the housework. This woman stated that she did the cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundry, vacuuming, and made the beds. Another woman reported that she also felt as if she was always cleaning up after her husband's extended family. This woman stated that she and her mother-in-law had agreed to divide the work so that she would do the cleaning and her mother-in-law would do the cooking. However, this woman reported that as her mother-in-law was a "messy" person, she was always cleaning up after her. Another woman reported a similar division of chores in which she did the cleaning and her mother-in-law did the cooking. This woman stated that she had no problem with her mother-in-law, but it was her sister-in-law that was causing her a great deal of stress. This woman stated that her sister-in-law did "absolutely nothing" around the house. She stated that "...it was one thing that she did not help out with the cleaning, but she does not even clean up after herself. Every time she uses the bathroom she makes a huge mess, but she just leaves it. Then I have to clean it." Another woman also identified stressful experiences related to her sister-in-law not helping with the housework. This woman stated that she felt that her sister-in-law did not have enough

responsibilities. Her sister-in-law had to be told what needed cleaning otherwise she would never take it upon herself to do any chores. This woman stated that when her mother-in-law was not at home, she had to get up and start dinner, while her sister-in-law would remain sitting. This woman stated that she felt that she ended up doing more housework than any other member of her husband's extended family.

One woman identified stressful experiences related to "Too Much Cleaning." This woman reported that her sister-in-law was always cooking or cleaning and did not give her much opportunity to help. This woman indicated that she believed her sister-in-law may have at times done this purposely to make the respondent appear lazy.

Another woman identified "Not Enough Cleaning" as stressful. This woman stated that her mother-in-law constantly complained that the daughter-in-law did not do enough cooking and cleaning. She stated that every member of her husband's extended family had complained to her husband that she did not do anything around the house such as: cooking, cleaning, vacuuming, and dishes. This woman stated that she felt she did her share of the work but she was "...sick of their whining and complaining."

Only one interviewee reported stressful experiences related to "Method of Cleaning." This woman reported that she found it very "irritating" and "frustrating" when she was doing a chore and was told by her sister-in-law that she was not doing it the "right" way. This woman stated that many times her sister-in-law had said to her "...this is the way we've always been doing it around here. When you get your own home you can do it any way you want."

Stressful experiences related to "Treatment."

Table 4-10 describes the number of women who reported stressful experiences for each of the stress cells within the new "Treatment" column in the revised stress matrix. The following four stressful experiences were identified by the women interviewed; "Feeling Ignored;" "Gossip;" "Animosity;" and "Recognition."

Table 4-9	
<u>Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Household Responsibilities"</u>	
Stressful experiences related to "Household Responsibilities"	n*
Cleaning Up	4/7
Too Much Cleaning	1/7
Not Enough Cleaning	1/7
Method of Cleaning	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experiences.	

Three of the women identified stressful experiences related to "Feeling Ignored." One of the women reported that she did not feel she had much of a relationship with her husband as often he just ignored her. This woman stated that it felt like they basically lived together as roommates but had two children together. This woman stated:

"I feel my husband does not treat me well as he does not pay attention to me. I feel my husband ignores me and pays more attention to his sister. When my husband comes home from work late at night, I'll wait up for him so we can talk. I say to him that I haven't seen you all day, let's talk. He says to me that he is too tired and he just wants to go to sleep. This really bothers me because he doesn't seem too tired to get up at 6:00 am to drive his sister to school. I'm really frustrated...I just don't understand what is happening."

Another woman reported that her relationship with her mother-in-law was "fine" until her sister-in-law came back to live in the household. This woman stated that when she was with both her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law, she always seemed to feel "left out." She stated that when there was a conversation taking place, her mother-in-law would direct all her comments towards her daughter and the sister-in-law would direct all her comments towards her mother. This woman stated that often both her mother-in-law and

sister-in-law would not even make eye-contact with her during these conversations.

Another woman reported that at times she felt she did not even exist within the household as she appeared to be invisible to members of her husband's extended family. This woman stated that there was an incident where she was quite ill for a few weeks. During this time, none of her husband's extended family came into her room to check on her. They did not even bother to offer her anything to eat or drink. At that time, she felt so "neglected" and "disgusted" that she went and stayed with her parents.

Four of the women reported stressful experiences related to the column heading "Gossip." Two of the women reported that they had walked into a room and heard negative comments made about them by members of their husband's extended family. The other two women reported that they had heard comments from friends and family members living outside of their household that members of her husband's extended family had been talking about them. One woman stated that several times she had heard from other family members that her mother-in-law had been gossiping about her saying that she was a poor wife and bad mother.

Two of the women reported stressful experiences related to "Animosity." One woman reported there was a tremendous amount of animosity and tension between her and her sister-in-law. The interviewee's sister-in-law appeared to think their mother-in-law and father-in-law favoured the interviewee more. This woman stated that her sister-in-law had sworn at her during heated arguments and thus they were now on non-speaking terms. Another woman reported that she has developed many negative feelings towards her husband's extended family members. This animosity was the result of her mother-in-law and father-in-law trying to convince their son to leave the respondent. This woman stated that her in-laws openly said to their son in front of her: "Why don't you leave her, she is not what we expected. We can find you a much nicer and prettier wife. You'll be much happier." This woman reported that because of her poor relationship with her mother-in-law and father-in-law, it had also affected her relationship with members of her own

extended family. This woman stated that if they as a family receive an invitation from her extended family for a social function, members of her husband's extended family would not attend the function unless they were given a personal invitation.

Table 4-10	
Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Treatment"	
Stressful experiences related to "Treatment"	n*
Feeling Ignored	3/7
Gossip	4/7
Animosity	2/7
Recognition	3/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experiences.	

Three of the interviewees identified stressful experiences related to "Recognition." One of the women interviewed stated that she felt she did not get recognized for her efforts by her mother-in-law. This woman stated that when her mother-in-law got home from work, it was the daughter-in-law, not her sister-in-law, that would ask the mother-in-law if she would like some tea or something to eat. This woman stated "I always make the effort, but my mother-in-law never seems to acknowledge that." The other two women reported very similar concerns related to "Recognition." Both women indicated that they did a lot for their mothers-in-law such as errands, shopping, and taking them to appointments. However, both women stated that they did not get recognized for their efforts. They felt that their mothers-in-law did not appreciate what they were doing for them. One of these women stated that when her mother-in-law came home from shopping with one of her daughters, she appeared to be very happy and would show her the things she bought. This woman stated that she has tried very hard to make her mother-in-law happy, but she just

could not seem to do it. Another woman reported that she did many errands for her mother-in-law along with all the housework, yet all she ever heard about was how wonderful her other daughter-in-law was.

Stressful experiences related to "Substance Abuse."

Table 4-11 describes the number of women interviewed who reported stressful experiences for each of the stress cells under the new column heading "Substance Abuse" in the revised stress matrix. One woman stated that as her father-in-law was a "very heavy drinker," he could become quite Verbally Abusive after he drank too much. This woman indicated that her father-in-law's Verbal Abuse, a majority of the time, was either directed towards her, or her and her children. The other woman reported that her father-in-law used narcotics on a regular basis and she believed that he was addicted. This woman stated that his behaviour did not directly affect her but she was very worried of the impact it may have on her young child.

Table 4-11	
<u>Number of Participants Who Identified Stressful Experiences Related to "Substance Abuse"</u>	
Stressful experiences related to "Substance Abuse"	<u>n</u> *
Verbal Abuse	1/7
Welfare of Child	1/7
*Number of women reporting the stressful experiences.	

Summary of Interview Data

Seven Sikh women were interviewed for this research study. These women reported the following stressful experiences from living with their husband's and their husband's extended family.

1. Four participants reported stressful experiences related to "Decision-Making" which included three cells; "Major Expenditures," "Routine Expenditures," and "Decisions of Sister-in-Law."
2. Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Autonomy" which included six cells; "Freedom;" "Feeling Powerless;" "Separation;" "Personal Accounts;" "Vacation;" and "Appearance."
3. Five participants reported stressful experiences related to "Social Life" which included four cells; "Exclusion;" "Inclusion;" "Friends;" and "Extended Family Exclusion."
4. Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Privacy" which included seven cells; "Affection;" "Telephone Monitoring;" "Company;" "Disagreements;" "Sharing Bedroom;" "Sex Life Probing;" and "Invasion."
5. Four participants reported stressful experiences related to "Financial" which included two cells; "Contribution" and "Non-Contribution."
6. Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Child-Rearing" which included nine cells; "Family Planning;" "Role Behaviours;" "Role Overload;" "Jealousy;" "Affection;" "Religion/Culture;" "Social Activities;" "Language;" and "Disrespect."
7. Four participants reported stressful experiences related to "Interpersonal Relating Styles" which included two cells, "Interacting" and "Communication."
8. Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Household Responsibilities" which included four cells; "Cleaning Up;" "Too Much Cleaning;" "Not Enough Cleaning;" and "Method of Cleaning."
9. Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Treatment" which included four cells; "Feeling Ignored;" "Gossip;" "Animosity;" and "Recognition."
10. Two participants reported stressful experiences related to "Substance Abuse" which included two cells; "Verbal Abuse" and "Welfare of Children."

Chapter 5

General Discussion and Conclusions

Summary of Findings

The objective of this thesis was to identify the stressful experiences of Sikh women who were residing in extended family living arrangements in Canada. As the traditional Sikh familial pattern is patrilineal and patriarchal the definition of extended family is as follows: Husband, his wife and their children; the husband's parents; any unmarried siblings of the husband; and any other blood relatives related to the husband who may reside within the household. This study was conducted in two stages. The purpose of stage one of the study was to build a preliminary "stress matrix" based upon the review of the literature. This preliminary stress matrix was developed in order to review stressful experiences of women living in extended families in various cultures. The purpose of stage two of the research thesis was, through open-ended and in-depth interviews, to find out whether the preliminary stress matrix developed in stage one was a reflection of the stresses experienced by Sikh women living in extended families in Victoria, British Columbia and Edmonton, Alberta.

The seven women interviewed identified all seven column headings from the preliminary stress matrix as stressful; "Decision-Making," "Autonomy," "Social Life," "Privacy," "Financial," "Child-Rearing" and "Interpersonal Relating Styles." Based on the preliminary stress matrix developed in stage one, these seven column headings identified fifteen cells as sources of stress. However, out of the fifteen cells defined as stressful in the preliminary matrix, the Sikh women identified only thirteen of the cells as sources of stress; "Major Expenditures," "Routine Expenditures," "Freedom," "Feeling Powerless," "Separation," "Exclusion," "Friends," "Affection," "Contribution," "Family Planning," "Role Behaviours," "Role Overload" and "Interacting." The two cells the women did not report as stressful were under the column heading "Social Life;" "Isolation" and "Recreational Activities." In regard to "Isolation" a majority of the women reported they

had many friends and family that they confided in and socialized with. In the "Recreational Activities" cell, a recurring theme for a majority of the women appeared to be that they had not given "Recreational Activities" much thought as they were busy with their children, work, and household responsibilities, thus recreation had not been a problem.

The Sikh women interviewed also reported three new columns indicating general categories of stress and thirty new cells indicating specific stressors. These new columns and cells had not been identified in the preliminary stress matrix developed from the review of literature. The Sikh women interviewed identified twenty new cells under the seven column headings from the preliminary stress matrix which they found to be stressful and ten new cells under the three new column headings. Under the "Decision-Making" column, one new cell was identified as stressful, "Decisions of Sister-in-Law." Under the "Autonomy" column three new cells were identified as stressful; "Personal Accounts," "Vacation" and "Appearance." Under the "Social Life" column two new cells were identified as stressful; "Inclusion" and "Extended Family Exclusion." Under the "Privacy" column, six new cells were identified as stressful: "Telephone Monitoring," "Company," "Disagreements," "Sharing Bedroom," "Sex Life Probing" and "Invasion." Under the "Financial" column one new cell was identified as stressful, "Non-Contribution." Under the "Child-Rearing" column, six new cells were identified as stressful: "Jealousy," "Affection," "Religion/Culture," "Social Activities," "Language" and "Disrespect." Under the "Interpersonal Relating Styles" column, one new cell was identified as stressful "Communication." Under the three new column headings, six women reported stressful experiences related to "Household Responsibilities" which included four cells: "Cleaning Up," "Too Much Cleaning," "Not Enough Cleaning" and "Method of Cleaning." Six participants reported stressful experiences related to "Treatment" which included four cells: "Feeling Ignored," "Gossip," "Animosity" and "Recognition." Two participants reported stressful experiences related to "Substance Abuse" which included two cells; "Verbal Abuse" and "Welfare of Children." Therefore, when information from stages one and two

were combined overall the Sikh women interviewed reported three new columns and thirty new cells as stressful.

From the interview data, it appears that Sikh women have very similar stressful experiences to women from various extended family living arrangements in other cultures such as Taiwanese, Laos and Chinese. Many of the sources of stress identified by Sikh women did not appear to result from a clash between two cultures, (Sikh versus Western), but rather from the introduction of an "outsider" into the family. For instance, five of the seven women indicated stress related to communication. The extended family members or even the husband may be demeaning, demanding, argumentative or simply refused to communicate with the woman. The treatment these women received appeared to have nothing to do with the Indian-Western cultural conflict but rather with how the family have decided to relate to the "stranger" that had become a part of their life.

As a stranger in the house, such things as household responsibilities caused considerable stress for the women. Rarely did the entire family sit down to discuss who would be responsible for cleaning the bathroom, kitchen, etc. Even when this did occur, it did not mean that everyone would do their share of the cleaning. These situations tended to cause tension because some members of the family believed they were doing their share of the cleaning whereas another member of the family may have perceived the person to be lazy and not cleaning enough. This situation sometimes lead to gossip, animosity or ignoring the woman.

Six out of seven women described stress around freedom. These women lost their freedom when they entered a new family. The new family may have been more concerned with how they would look within the Sikh community than with making their newest family member feel welcome. These women had to explain why they were leaving the house and at times even ask permission to leave the house. If the women were not trusted, they may not have been allowed to leave or had to be accompanied by a family member.

Privacy proved to be a major area of stress. Husbands and wives felt that they

could not display affection towards one another, telephone calls were monitored, personal belongings were rummaged, degrading questions about ones sex life were endured, sharing the bedroom with ones children were all issues that arose for Sikh women. These were all things that Sikh women knew were out of their control when they lived in extended families, but endured.

Finances also caused stress for the Sikh women. Whether women were contributing more than their share or were not contributing at all to the household financially, these women indicated stress. If they were contributing more than their share, they felt they were being taken advantage of, especially when other family members were barely contributing anything. If they were not contributing to the finances, they had to endure comments about the high cost of living and how expensive everything was getting.

Situations as indicated above did not occur everyday within the Western culture because most people live in "nuclear families." Sikh women live in extended families and withstand many things most women do not. It is important that anyone who counsels Sikh women understand the family dynamics. If a counsellor assumes that the woman is living within a nuclear family, the counsellors attitudes and methods may be dramatically different than if the counsellor knew that the woman was essentially a stranger within her new family's home.

Dynamics are important to understand within the Sikh family, however, another issue that is just as important is the importance the Sikh family places on how the rest of the community views the family. Sikh families, especially the older members of the family, are preoccupied with how everyone will view their family. Because of this concern, the mother-in-law may try to control the daughter-in-law by restricting her freedom. This restriction of freedom can be in terms of movement outside the house, when to have children, what to wear or who to have as friends. The need for control by Sikh elders causes a great deal of tension and stress for the daughter-in-law newly introduced into the family. If counsellors of Sikh women are not aware of these issues, the help they provide

may become ineffective because the methods utilized were inappropriate for the situation.

Relation to Previous Research

The literature reviewed focused primarily on extended families in general and not extended families that resided within one household. Thus, the preliminary stress matrix included columns and cells based upon the following research. Literature on the extended family networks of Black female adults. The primary sources of information in this area were Beck and Beck (1989), Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988), and Taylor and Chatters (1991). Gallin's (1994) research was also included as it focused on relationships between Taiwanese mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. Some of the problems reported in this study were very similar to problems indicated in the aforementioned literature review. Taylor and Chatters (1991) found that proximate family arrangements may have negative consequences for subjective assessments of family satisfaction. Taylor and Chatters (1991) found that the adults in their study identified problems related to financial strain, increased demands related to the care of minor children and ambiguity in the degree to which the young children could be punished or rewarded. The majority of Sikh women interviewed also reported similar stressful experiences. For example, the discipline of children and the manner in which extended family members chose to discipline the children was identified as stressful by some of the women.

Studies conducted by Gallin (1991) and Jackson and Berg-Cross (1988) investigated the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships. Jackson and Berg-Cross' research found the general relating style of women was expected to have a significant impact on the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships. Gallin's (1991) research described how women's inter-generational relations in contemporary Taiwan both refuted and supported the notion that Chinese women, who were treated as inferiors in their younger years, usually were obeyed, respected and cared for in their later years. Gallin (1994) explained the "tyranny of the mother-in-law" in several ways: the new bride may be

seen as a competitor and if she is not "broken," she might deprive a mother of her son's loyalty and support. The mother-in-law may take revenge for her own life-long subjugation, or the new bride is viewed as a rival for the affection of the son.

Relationships between extended family members residing within one household, such as mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law vary significantly from culture to culture. However, the Taiwanese culture appears to be very similar to the East-Indian (including Sikh) culture as both cultures are based on filial piety, arranged marriages, and traditionally, both have extended family living arrangements. Five of the seven Sikh women interviewed in this research identified problems under the column headings "Interpersonal Relating Styles" and "Treatment." Many of the women indicated that the manner in which the husband and/or members of his extended family chose to communicate with them was a potential problem. The women indicated that the husband and/or members of his extended family could be demeaning, demanding, argumentative, gave them the "silent treatment" or were not communicated with at all. These women reported that at times they felt ignored, were the topic of gossip amongst extended family members or felt animosity between themselves and/or their husbands and members of his extended family.

The preliminary stress matrix developed in stage one was based on information derived from the literature review. However, as indicated in chapter 2, there was a paucity of literature focusing on extended families and even less on Sikhs. The literature that was available did not focus primarily on the relationships of extended family members that live within one household. The focus appeared to be on extended family members in general. Therefore, the stressful experiences identified by the Sikh women interviewed were very similar to the stressful experiences identified by extended family members who were not necessarily residing under one roof. However, as indicated by the revised stress matrix, Sikh women appeared to have more stress because the Sikh tradition expects daughters-in-law to live with their husbands and their families. Literature that focused primarily on East-

Indian families (which also included Sikhs) did not provide information on inter-relationships among family members living within one household. Rather the literature available appeared to be on very limited issues such as "Decision-Making."

Limitations of This Research

It was very difficult to find Sikh women to participate in this research who fit the selection criteria. Many of the Sikh women contacted had either immigrated from India recently, and therefore did not fit the educational characteristic; or were just recently married and did not have children. From the limited number of women that were contacted, three of these women declined to participant. As the researcher is a Sikh female, she can only guess as to why these women refused to participate. In the researcher's opinion, it may be that these women were "afraid" to reveal feelings about their stressful experiences from living with their husbands and members of their extended families. These women may have declined in fear of the consequences that may have occurred if they did participate. These women live in a precarious situation and having an outsider ask questions can be seen as a threat to the entire family. If she did not have a good relationship with the family she may have perceived that participation would only make matters worse. The findings of the study may have been more valid and reliable had there been more than seven participants.

Another limitation of the study is that these women were from communities where a large number of Sikh families reside. It would be interesting to see if Sikh women from smaller towns experienced the same stressful experiences. One may see the two cells under isolation that were not reported as stressors for the participants of this study being indicated as stressors. Women in these situation when told that they could no longer associate with their friends, would find that there were few women in the area that were their same age and who shared their interests.

It was also unfortunate that there was such an extreme paucity of literature on Sikh

living arrangements. There was indeed a substantial review of literature on various cultures about the influence of supportive familial ties in regard to stress in extended and nuclear families; relationships between extended family members, specifically, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, women and health, and families in India. However, there was very little research focusing on Sikh women, and even less aimed at the stressful experiences of Sikh women.

Implications for Future Research

The findings of this study have generated a number of implications for further exploration in Sikh women research. First, it appears that Sikh women do have stressful experiences similar to women from other cultures but that their manifestations of stress seem to be of a greater extent. These women reported a substantial number of new cells in the matrix identifying stressful experiences. It would be beneficial to replicate this study with a larger number of participants.

Secondly, it was interesting to discover what stressful experiences were identified from a "daughters-in-law" perspectives. Many of the stressful experiences reported by the daughters-in-law involved the mothers-in-law. It would be beneficial to get the mothers-in-law point of view. It would also be interesting to research the perspectives of the husband and other members of his extended family.

Thirdly, Teja (1976) discussed the separation process in the Indian culture between family members such as university students departing for educational purposes. He indicated separation may be an event when mutuality and interdependence are no longer available to separating individuals which could lead to their mental distress. A similar "separation process" occurs with many East-Indian women when marriage takes place. When a woman marries within the East-Indian culture, the bride is sent to live with her new husband and his family. This new family may be virtual strangers to the new daughter-in-law. In most cases, the bride is expected to sever all ties with her family of origin. It

would be very interesting to study this separation process for women and the manner in which it effects women's mental health.

Lastly, Lovell, Tran and Nguyen's (1987) research on Southeast Asians found that women's attempts to adjust to Western norms of nuclear family life and a more egalitarian role for women adds to acculturation stress. Such pressures often resulted in depression, anxiety and/or marital problems. Lovell, Tran and Nguyen's (1987) research focused primarily on the cultures of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. As there is a growing number of Sikhs immigrating to Canada, it may be beneficial to study Sikh women's or Sikh extended families acculturation processes and the stressful impact the families may have on the women's lives.

It is clear from the interview data that Sikh women residing in extended family living arrangements do have many stressful experiences. To shed some light on why these families do not attempt to get family counselling, a qualitative study could be conducted where each member is interviewed. Thus, the following suggestion is strictly a personal view and not based on any theoretical or empirical basis. The data from the qualitative study could be comprised and presented to the family as a group, then free counselling services should be offered. Those who accept the offer should be given counselling and their progress monitored. Those families who do not accept the offer should be asked the reasons why they are declining. As Ames and Inglis state "Indian women find it increasingly difficult to accept their circumstances, and we would expect that eventually the ideals regarding respect for and responsibility to husbands and fathers will be a major focus of change..." (1973:36).

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Appendix A

Consent Form for Participants

Sikh Women's Stresses Living in Extended Families

Researcher: Paige Samra, Masters Student in Counselling Psychology,
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Phone: (403)488-5992 (home)

Supervisor: Professor, Dr. David Baine, Department of Educational Psychology,
University of Alberta
Phone: (403)492-2646 (office)

I understand that I am volunteering to participate in a study in which I will be asked to describe my thoughts and opinions regarding my experience of living in an extended family. I am willing to share my experiences, thoughts and opinions with the researcher, and I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. I also understand that I do not have to answer any questions that I do not want to answer.

I understand that the length of time for the interview is unrestricted and it will be audiotaped; the researcher will later transcribe and analyze the interview. Information obtained from the interview will be used for Paige Samra's Masters thesis and possible future publications.

The study has been explained to me, and I have had the chance to ask questions about the study. I understand that my name and identity will be kept confidential in any reports written about the study. The audiotapes and transcripts will be kept secure, and will be destroyed when the study is completed.

I am satisfied that I have been given sufficient information about the study, and I am willing to participate in the study by sharing my thoughts and experiences with Paige Samra.

Date

Participant